226 439 must fish or starve. Fish, however, is not only regarded as food, but is also used as an article of trade. The supply in Lake Bangweulu seems to be virtually inexhaustible. The Unga can sell their fish for meal at a good price on the Copperbelt and elsewhere and are therefore unwilling to leave this otherwise undesirable habitat.

226 A number of methods of fishing are employed, such as netting, the setting of lines, trapping fish in baskets set in weirs, catching fish in baskets at low water, and poisoning. The diversity of fishing methods is not as great as it is for instance among the Lozi further south,(1) but since the Unga are able to catch plenty of fish with their traditional technique, improvements of method seem unlikely.

226 423 Netting grounds are available to all, but weirs have a fixed ownership. In certain circumstances a chief may reallocate a weir, but generally the owner has the absolute right of use. He calls in friends and relatives to fish and to repair the weir and each keeps the fish caught in his own basket.

439 Fish may either be sold at the waterside or taken to Kapalala - the ferry over the Luapula at the Congo border - or to the markets on the Copperbelt. A better price is obtainable at the latter but against that has to be set the time involved and expense incurred (such as the purchase of a bicycle or the canoe to Kapalala, and thence by lorry to Ndola). Of those selling at the waterside, some sell to African consumers, some to middlemen, some to Missions and some to representatives of European firms. Many fishermen, however, find their way to Mufulira market on the Copperbelt to market their own fish.(2)

The following figures taken by Brelsford in 1943 from some 250 Unga fishermen show the distribution of their choice:-(3)

64% sold their fish either in Kapalala or Ndola.
12% sold on the mainland at places like Fort Rosebery.
24% sold at the waterside.

CRAFTS

412 [411] Bemba equipment is of the simplest kind. There are only four main implements: an axe-blade, locally forged and fixed into a wooden haft,(4) used for clearing the bush and most other wood-cutting jobs; iron hoe blades, also fixed into wooden hafts, were formerly traded from the Lungu; a spear, locally forged, used in war, hunting and fishing; and, finally the bow, now rarely made. These tools are of the simplest kind, neither carved nor decorated and, generally speaking, crafts are poorly developed. Decorative iron-work, which reached a high level of development among the Luba peoples, hardly exists. Iron-smelting is still practised among the 325 Aushi(5) and was recently revived among the Chishinga(6) group, formerly

(1) Gluckman, 1941. (2) Brelsford, ? 1947.
(3) Brelsford, S. 1946, gives a more detailed treatment on the subject.
(4) Mass produced European tools are now superseding the others.
(5) Barnes, 1926.
(6) Brelsford, ?. 1949.

widely reputed for their iron-working, when during the recent war tools became scarce. It is rarely found among the Bemba. Village smiths able to reforge and sharpen axe-blades and hoes are, however, common all over the area. The Unga obtained iron blades for their fish-spears from the Mukulu. 325

Wood-carving, highly developed among the Congo peoples, is limited among the Bemba to the simplest geometric designs, but Von Rosen noted some elaborate and rather striking carving among the Twa.(1) Weaving is unknown among the Bemba, and is not reported elsewhere. Baskets are generally made well but are not elaborate. For a fishing group the Unga have little variety in baskets and these again are simply made. A certain amount of leather-work is made by the Bemba. Both cooking and eating pots are made all over the plateau, but although they are well made they tend to be badly fired and hence to be fragile. 322 286 285 281 323

Salt-making flourishes particularly among the Shila and Tabwa, around Lake Mweru.(2) It is highly lucrative, compensates for the comparative infertility of the soil and provides a lively marketing activity. The salt is obtained by straining the soil through baskets and boiling the resultant brine. The salt-earth supply in the area is permanent and this tends to have a stabilizing effect upon villages, which would otherwise move frequently in accordance with the practice of shifting cultivation. The natural salt found in the pans at Mpika in Bemba country was also utilized and highly valued, being traded around the country to gratify the longing for salt in which the Bemba diet is singularly lacking. 317

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

KINSHIP

(a) *Matrilineal Descent* is one of the cultural characteristics of this area. Amongst all these people affiliation is traced through the mother and a man belongs to his mother's clan. Succession is within a loosely organised matrilineage of narrow span whereby a man is succeeded by his younger brothers or by his sisters' sons, or by his sisters' daughters' sons. These rules govern succession to chieftainship, to a headmanship, or to the name and status of a dead man by the practice known in this area as *ukupyanika*.(3) A woman usually succeeds to the name of her maternal grandmother and, in the case of a chieftainess, she succeeds to the title itself. Succession to a name is associated with the power to call on the ancestral spirits of the dead man or woman in question. 611

All the peoples described appear to be organized into matrilineal clans with totemic names. Among the Bemba, for instance, there are 40 or more such dispersed exogamous matrilineal clans. The clan claims descent from an original ancestress, a more or less legendary figure dating from the time of the first occupation of their present territory by the Bemba. Clan centres, in the sense of original villages of occupation, are remembered but 614

(1) Von Rosen, 1914. (2) Moore 1937.
(3) Richards, 9, 1950, describes this as 'positional succession'.

grown extensively in the past and some Kazembe's[1] were acknowledged hashish-addicts. 276

TRADE

Slaves and ivory (exchanged for cloth and merchandise) were for a long period the main trading assets of the country.[2] Salt, otter-skins and beeswax[3] were other traded commodities. The valley fish used to be exchanged for the mushrooms, honey and wild fruits of the plateau. It is still bartered with the Lungu *citemene* cultivators for millet, from which hot beer (*katubi*) is brewed. Trade with the Swahili, Arab and European merchants was the Kazembe's monopoly.[4] Ivory came mostly from the Congo side of the Luapula being brought as tribute.[5] Fish, the chief export article at the present time, is marketed in the mining areas of the Belgian Congo, only a small proportion going to the Rhodesian Copperbelt.[6] Kasenga, with its ice factory and road connection with Elisabethville, is the local distribution centre. Small quantities of cassava and bananas are also offered for sale there. 439

ECONOMIC CHANGE

Labour migration to the mines and sales of fish are the most noticeable signs of economic change. Subsistence agriculture prevails although, with the establishment of co-operative farms, the growing of cash crops may develop. 178

CRAFTS

Iron-ore, abundant in the hillside country to the east, was smelted and iron was worked[7] until the advent of the British South Africa Company. Imported trade goods have since displaced native-made hoes, axe-heads, knives and spears. 325

Cotton spinning and weaving are other crafts which have fallen into decay.[8] The rough cotton cloth mentioned by Livingstone[9] is no longer made. Mats woven from reeds, papyrus and the leaf of the *mukolala* palm and split bamboo baskets are still made by men after the rains when the fishing season is over.[10] Pottery-making was confined to women. The men worked wood and leather, dressed skins and prepared barkcloth. They hollowed dug-outs, carved wooden plates and crudely finished figures of ritual significance.[11] Dyes were procured from plants and trees and a tree-bark infusion was used in treating wounds.[12] Potash salt was extracted from plant ashes.[13] The method widely used among the Tabwa and Bena Kabwili on the north-eastern fringe of Lake Mweru,[14] where a brownish salt is obtained by filtering water through salpetrous earth and evaporating the brine,[15] may Also have been employed 28 32 [386] [317]

(1) Crawford, op.cit., pp.99, 100.
(2) Burton, p.130; Gamitto, I, p.398.
(3) Valdez, II, p.187.
(4) Burton, p.109.
(5) ibid., p.188.
(6) Brelsford, 2, 1947, p.70.
(7) Livingstone, I, p.307.
(8) Crawford, 2, opp.194.
(9) op.cit., p.267.
(10) Moore, 1937.
(11) Valdez, II, p.218.
(12) Gamitto, I, p.386.
(13) Valdez, op.cit., p.246.
(14) Livingstone, op.cit., p.223.
(15) Described in some detail by Moore.